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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 172-75.4

1. BOLIVIA: BANZER MODERATES STAND ON SEA OUTLET

PRESIDENT HUGO BANZER SEEMS TO BE BACKPEDALING ON HIS COMMITMENT TO OBTAIN A SEACOAST FOR BOLIVIA. IN A SPEECH BEFORE APPROXIMATELY 100 LABOR COORDINATORS AT THE QUEMADA PALACE ON OCTOBER 31, BANZER DENIED THAT HE HAD TAKEN AN INTRANSIGENT STAND ON THE SEA ROUTE ISSUE. INSTEAD, HE SAID THAT HIS COMMITMENT WAS TO SEEK SUCH A ROUTE "PERSISTENTLY."

EARLY IN OCTOBER, WHILE IN NEW YORK TO PLEAD BOLIVIA'S CASE BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS, BANZER IN A PRESS INTERVIEW EXPRESSED HIS "COMPLETE OPTIMISM" CONCERNING BOLIVIA'S EARLY SUCCESS IN OBTAINING A SOVEREIGN OUTLET TO THE SEA. DESPITE BANZER'S PUBLIC UTTERANCES, THE CHILEAN FOREIGN MINISTER STILL HOLDS THE POSITION THAT FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS HAVE NOT BEGUN.

BANZER'S NEW APPROACH TO BOLIVIA'S LONG-STANDING FOREIGN POLICY GOAL WILL NOT SIT WELL WITH ULTRANATIONALISTS IN THE ARMED FORCES, BUT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF PLOTTING WITHIN

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THE MILITARY AND BANZER NOW SEEMS MORE SECURE THAN AT ANY TIME DURING HIS FOUR-YEAR PRESIDENCY. SOME MILITARY OFFICERS HAVE INDICATED TO US EMBASSY OFFICIALS THAT THE WORD "SOVEREIGNTY" COULD BE INTERPRETED TO MEAN EXCLUSIVE CONTROL OF AN OUTLET TO THE SEA FOR AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF TIME. IF THIS VIEW CAN BE SOLD TO MOST OF THE OFFICER CORPS, BANZER'S CHANCES OF NEGOTIATING A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM WILL BE GREATLY ENHANCED.
 {CONFIDENTIAL}4

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EUROPEAN BRIEF. 172-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: PRIME MINISTER AZEVEDO'S GOVERNMENT MAY FACE A NEW SET OF CHALLENGES IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS AS EXTREMIST ELEMENTS BEGIN TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEIR OPPORTUNITIES FOR ATTAINING POWER ARE SLIPPING AWAY.4

MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN, BUT AZEVEDO HAS HAD CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS ASSERTING THE GOVERNMENT'S AUTHORITY AND DEMONSTRATING HIS OWN POPULAR SUPPORT. HE HAS REDUCED COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE MEDIA AND THE MILITARY, AND HE IS DETERMINED TO PURGE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR ALLIES FROM KEY POSITIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT.4

AZEVEDO'S SUCCESS, HOWEVER LIMITED, HAS PUT THE COMMUNISTS ON THE DEFENSIVE. COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER CUNHAL HAD A LONG PRIVATE SESSION WITH PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES ON TUESDAY. IN THE PAST, COSTA GOMES HAS BEEN RELATIVELY RESPONSIVE TO COMMUNIST PLEAS, AND IT IS LIKELY THAT CUNHAL APPEALED TO HIM FOR SUPPORT IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE A NEW CHAPTER IN THE POWER STRUGGLE.4

THE COMMUNISTS ARE ALSO RESORTING TO STREET ACTION TO RECOUP SOME OF THEIR LOSSES:

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--ON WEDNESDAY, 50 PRO-COMMUNIST TRANSPORT WORKERS OCCUPIED THE OFFICE OF THE LABOR MINISTER TO PROTEST THE "PURGE" OF LEFTISTS FROM THE MINISTRY'S STAFF.4

--LEFTIST TELEPHONE WORKERS OCCUPIED LISBON'S MAIN POST OFFICE ON THURSDAY, DEMANDING THE DISMISSAL OF FIVE ADMINISTRATORS WITH ALLEGED RIGHT-WING CONNECTIONS.4

--COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST WORKERS BATTLED WEDNESDAY NIGHT FOR CONTROL OF ONE OF LISBON'S MAIN NEWSPAPERS.4

--ON THURSDAY LEFTIST MOBS PROTESTING THE GOVERNMENT'S DRIVE TO REDUCE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE MEDIA ATTEMPTED TO SEIZE THE INFORMATION MINISTRY.4

IN ADDITION TO TESTING THE REGIM'S WILL, THESE DISTURBANCES MAY BE INTENDED TO GET THOSE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT THAT HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY IMPATIENT WITH THE LACK OF DISCIPLINE TO ATTEMPT A COUP. THE COMMUNISTS ARE BETTING THAT SUCH AN ATTEMPT WOULD NOT BE SUCCESSFUL AND THAT THEIR OWN FORTUNES WOULD RISE IN THE AFTERMATH. THEIR REPEATED WARNINGS OF THE DANGERS OF A "REACTIONARY TAKE-OVER" STILL ELICIT A SYMPATHETIC RESPONSE IN MANY QUARTERS.4

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THERE IS NO HARD EVIDENCE THAT THE DISORDERS ARE A PRELUDE TO A COUP FROM THE LEFT. COMMUNIST STRATEGY IS MORE LIKELY DEPENDENT ON PROMOTING THE DANGER OF A MOVE FROM THE RIGHT. PORTUGUESE POLICE RECENTLY ARRESTED SEVERAL "COMMUNIST ACTIVISTS" WHO WERE PAINTING SIGNS FAVORING THE PORTUGUESE LIBERATION ARMY, AN ULTRARIGHT ORGANIZATION BASED IN SPAIN COMPOSED OF REMNANTS OF THE CAETANO AND SPINOLA ERAS.4

//THESE EXILES HAVE BEEN PLOTTING A RETURN TO PORTUGAL FOR WELL OVER A YEAR. WE HAVE HAD SEVERAL REPORTS THEY INTEND TO MOVE SOON-POSSIBLY AS EARLY AS NOVEMBER 11, ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE DAY. THIS WEEK, FOR EXAMPLE, FORMER PRESIDENT SPINOLA'S ENTIRE ENTOURAGE REPORTEDLY LEFT BRAZIL FOR EUROPE. THE END OF THE FRANCO ERA, WHICH COULD MAKE SAFE HAVEN IN SPAIN RISKY, MAY ALSO CAUSE THE EXILES TO ACCELERATE THEIR PLANS.// {SECRET}4

2. CYPRUS: THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL TAKE UP THE CYPRUS ISSUE NEXT WEEK, BUT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT PROSPECTS FOR A SETTLEMENT WILL IMPROVE. THERE IS A DANGER, IN FACT, THAT AN ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE COULD HARDEN BOTH TURKISH AND GREEK POSITIONS.4

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THE DISCUSSION WILL PROBABLY REFLECT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S INCREASINGLY ANTI-TURKISH MOOD, WHICH STEMS FROM ANKARA'S FAILURE TO LIVE UP FULLY TO THE RESOLUTIONS THE TURKS HELPED NEGOTIATE AT LAST YEAR'S SESSION. ANKARA'S PROPOSED DRAFT RESOLUTION THIS YEAR AMOUNTS TO A SIGNIFICANT RETRENCHMENT; IT AVOIDS SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES ENTIRELY, STRESSING ONLY THE NEED TO REINVIGORATE THE COMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS.

THE SITUATION WILL BE AGGRAVATED BY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, WHO INTEND TO OBTAIN A THOROUGH AIRING OF THEIR GRIEVANCES. GREEK CYPRIOT FOREIGN MINISTER CHRISTOPHIDES HAS INDICATED HE WILL ASK FOR A DRAFT RESOLUTION CALLING FOR PROMPT WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH TROOPS, RETURN OF GREEK REFUGEES TO TURKISH-CONTROLLED AREAS, AND CRITICISM OF TURKEY FOR BLOCKING PROGRESS REGARDING NEGOTIATIONS AND TURKISH ACTIONS ON CYPRUS. {CONFIDENTIAL}

3. USSR: SOVIET POLITBURO MEMBER ARVID PELSHE, CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY'S CONTROL COMMISSION, DELIVERED THE TRADITIONAL SPEECH ON THURSDAY ON THE 58TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSEVIK REVOLUTION. THE CHOICE OF THE 76-YEAR-OLD PELSHE REVEALS NOTHING ABOUT THE CURRENT

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POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE KREMLIN.Y

PELSHE'S EMPHASIS WAS IN KEEPING WITH HIS DOMESTIC RESPONSIBILITIES; MORE THAN HALF THE SPEECH WAS DEVOTED TO DOMESTIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS UNDER COMMUNISM. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE ARE PROBLEMS WITH THIS YEAR'S GRAIN HARVEST, BUT HE GAVE NO HINT OF THEIR MAGNITUDE AND ASSERTED THAT SOVIET AGRICULTURAL POLICIES ARE BASICALLY SOUND.Y

THE FOREIGN POLICY SECTION OF THE SPEECH WAS NOTICEABLY DIFFERENT IN TONE FROM THE SPEECH DELIVERED LAST YEAR BY FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO—EVEN ALLOWING FOR THE DIFFERING RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TWO MEN. PELSHE DEVOTED ONLY ONE SHORT PARAGRAPH TO RELATIONS WITH THE US. HE MADE FAVORABLE MENTION OF THE APOLLO-SOYUZ MISSION, BUT OMITTED THE STANDARD SOVIET REFERENCES TO MILESTONES IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES; HE SAID NOTHING ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTION OF SUMMITRY TO THE RELATIONSHIP OR OF BREZHNEV'S NEXT TRIP TO THE US. PELSHE DID ENDORSE THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS, BUT HE LUMPED THEM TOGETHER WITH THE FORCE REDUCTION TALKS ELSEWHERE IN THE SPEECH.Y

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PELSHE'S TREATMENT OF THE US MAY HAVE BEEN NOTHING MORE THAN AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID CONTROVERSIAL OR DIFFICULT SUBJECTS, BUT HIS HANDLING OF THE TOPIC WAS VERY CURSORY FOR SUCH A KEY ASPECT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. HE MADE NO PREDICTION, AS FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO HAS IN RECENT STATEMENTS, THAT THE PARTY CONGRESS IN FEBRUARY WILL RECONFIRM THE FOREIGN POLICY LINE OF THE 24TH CONGRESS IN 1971.4

THE REMARKS PELSHE MADE ON CHINA WERE NOT APPRECIABLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF GROMYKO LAST YEAR, EXCEPT THAT HE NOTED THE SOVIETS WOULD REBUFF ANY CHINESE ENCROACHMENTS ON THE INTERESTS OF SOVIET "FRIENDS". THE REFERENCE PROBABLY WAS ADDED TO REASSURE NORTH VIETNAMESE PARTY CHIEF LE DUAN, WHO IS HAVING PROBLEMS WITH THE CHINESE AND WHO WAS PRESENT AT THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS. THE REFERENCE MAY HAVE ALSO BEEN INTENDED TO REASSURE INDIA IN LIGHT OF THE RECENT SINO-INDIAN BORDER CLASH.4

PELSHE DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, CITING THE MEETING OF LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN HAVANA LAST JUNE AND THE PREPARATIONS FOR A EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY

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CONFERENCE, IN A WAY THAT SUGGESTS MOSCOW IS STILL INTENT ON ANOTHER
 WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 172-75.4

1. BANGLADESH: MAJOR GENERAL ZIA UR-RAHMAN SEIZED POWER IN BANGLADESH EARLY THIS FRIDAY. MAJOR GENERAL MUSHARRAF, WHO HAD TAKEN OVER EARLY THIS WEEK, MAY HAVE BEEN KILLED BY TROOPS LOYAL TO ZIA.4

ZIA ANNOUNCED OVER Dacca RADIO THAT HE HAS BEEN NAMED MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR AND CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES. FORMER PRESIDENT MUSHTAQUE, WHO HAD NAMED ZIA CHIEF OF STAFF LAST AUGUST, IS SAID TO BE DRAFTING A RADIO SPEECH AMID SPECULATION HE MAY BE ASKED TO REASSUME THE PRESIDENCY. WE STILL HAVE NO WORD ON THE STATUS OF A. M. SAYEM, WHO WAS NAMED PRESIDENT ON THURSDAY.4

MUSHARRAF HAD ARRESTED ZIA EARLIER THIS WEEK AND BRIEFLY SUCCEEDED HIM AS CHIEF OF STAFF. THE 39-YEAR-OLD ZIA IS EVIDENTLY HIGHLY POPULAR AMONG ARMY TROOPS; HE PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN BANGLADESH'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN 1971, AND HE IS THE MAN WHO FIRST BROADCAST THE COUNTRY'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

ZIA'S MOVE SEEMS TO HAVE AROUSED MORE ENTHUSIASM AMONG CIVILIANS AS WELL AS AMONG THE TROOPS THAN DID EITHER MUSHARRAF'S POWER PLAY EARLIER THIS WEEK OR THE COUP LAST

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ZIA ANNOUNCED OVER DACCA RADIO THAT HE HAS BEEN NAMED MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR AND CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES. FORMER PRESIDENT MUSHTAQUE, WHO HAD NAMED ZIA CHIEF OF STAFF LAST AUGUST, IS SAID TO BE DRAFTING A RADIO SPEECH AMID SPECULATION HE MAY BE ASKED TO REASSUME THE PRESIDENCY. WE STILL HAVE NO WORD ON THE STATUS OF A. M. SAYEM, WHO WAS NAMED PRESIDENT ON THURSDAY.4

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INDIA, WHICH WAS CAUGHT OFF GUARD BY MUSHARRAF'S MOVE, SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN SURPRISED AGAIN. THE CONTINUING INSTABILITY IN DACCA INCREASES THE CHANCE THAT INDIA MAY TRY DIRECTLY TO INFLUENCE EVENTS IN BANGLADESH. INDIAN OFFICIALS HAVE INDICATED IN RECENT MONTHS THAT CONTINUED TURMOIL IN BANGLADESH OR A MASSIVE INFUX OF REFUGEES INTO INDIA, SUCH AS HAPPENED IN 1971, COULD RESULT IN INDIAN MILITARY INTERVENTION. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

2. SPANISH SAHARA: MOROCCO ON THURSDAY NIGHT "UNOFFICIALLY" INFORMED THE SPANISH THAT THE AGREEMENT TO STOP THE MARCH A FEW MILES INSIDE SPANISH SAHARA HAD "LOST ITS VALUE" BECAUSE MADRID HAD PUBLICIZED IT. UNLESS SPAIN AGREES TO A NEW ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FATE OF THE TERRITORY, THE MOROCCANS SAY, THE MARCH WILL CONTINUE ON FRIDAY.4

THE MOROCCAN ULTIMATUM PRECEDED THE ADOPTION THURSDAY NIGHT OF A UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE MARCHERS, BUT THERE IS NO SIGN THAT RAJAT HAS BEEN DETERRED BY THE RESOLUTION.4

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THE MOROCCANS INDICATED THAT THEY ARE AWARE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A CLASH BETWEEN THE MARCHERS AND SPANISH FORCES. IF THIS OCCURS, THE MOROCCANS SAY THEY WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO AVOID INTERVENING WITH THEIR OWN FORCES.4

SPAIN HAS INDICATED THAT, DESPITE MOROCCO'S THREATS, SPAIN WILL ADHERE TO ITS POSITION THAT THE DISPUTE MUST BE SETTLED THROUGH THE UN. MOROCCO HAS REJECTED UN INTERVENTION. THE SPANISH HAVE REITERATED THEIR PLEDGE TO USE ALL MEANS AT THEIR DISPOSAL, INCLUDING ARMED FORCE, TO STOP THE MARCH.4

MOROCCAN MARCHERS, LED BY PRIME MINISTER OSMAN, ADVANCED ONLY A FEW MILES INTO SPANISH SAHARA ON THURSDAY. MOROCCO'S GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED MEDIA ASSERT THAT THE MARCHERS HAVE GONE PAST THE TOWN OF DAORA, A POINT NEARLY HALFWAY BETWEEN THE BORDER AND THE TERRITORIAL CAPITAL OF EL AAIUN. SPANISH DEFENSIVE POSITIONS ARE NORTH OF THE TOWN, AND THE RABAT STORY APPARENTLY IS AN EXAGGERATED REFERENCE TO THE TOKEN NUMBER OF MOROCCAN MARCHERS WHOM THE SPANISH WILL ALLOW TO PROCEED TO EL AAIUN. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

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3. LEBANON: BEIRUT WAS RELATIVELY QUIET ON THURSDAY, BUT EFFORTS BY WARRING FACTIONS TO REARM THEMSELVES THREATEN BOTH THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE UNEASY RECONCILIATION BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER KARAMI AND INTERIOR MINISTER SHAMUN.4

A SHOWDOWN BETWEEN KARAMI ON THE ONE HAND AND SHAMUN AND PRESIDENT FRANJIYAH ON THE OTHER IS DEVELOPING OVER ATTEMPTS BY CHRISTIAN FORCES TO UNLOAD A SHIPMENT OF ARMS THAT ARRIVED ON TUESDAY AT JUNIYAH, 12 MILES NORTH OF BEIRUT.4

THE WIDE PUBLICITY BEING GIVEN THE INCIDENT AT JUNIYAH WILL ONLY COMPLICATE KARAMI'S DIFFICULTIES BY CALLING FURTHER ATTENTION TO HIS INABILITY TO EXERCISE AUTHORITY.4

TENSIONS IN JUNIYAH APPARENTLY HAVE NOT AFFECTED BEIRUT, WHERE LIFE IS SLOWLY RETURNING TO NORMAL. MORE SHOPS AND BANKS HAVE OPENED, AND MANY CITIZENS ARE VENTURING OUT TO REPLENISH FOOD STOCKS. THE WAVE OF KIDNAPINGS SEEMS TO HAVE ENDED. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 172-75.4

1.//NORTH KOREA - AUSTRALIA: NORTH KOREA HAS DEMANDED THAT AUSTRALIA IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAW ITS DIPLOMATIC MISSION FROM PYONG-YANG.//4

//THE TROUBLE BEGAN LAST WEEK WHEN PYONGYANG THREATENED TO BREAK RELATIONS IF CANBERRA FOLLOWED THROUGH ON ITS PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO VOTE AGAINST THE PRO - NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTION AT THE UN. PRIME MINISTER WHITLAM

ABSTAINED. BUT THE NORTH KOREANS HAD ALREADY WITHDRAWN THEIR MISSION FROM CANBERRA-A MOVE ACCOMPANIED BY A HARSH STATEMENT ATTACKING "UNFRIENDLY" AUSTRALIAN ACTIONS.//4

//BOTH SIDES WERE EMBARRASSED AT THIS POINT-

AND PYONGYANG FOR HAVING "RETALIATED" PREMATURELY. CANBERRA SUBSEQUENTLY DECIDED THAT IT WOULD NOT LET THE NORTH KOREANS RETURN UNTIL THEY AGREED TO FORGO SIMILAR WALKOUTS IN THE FUTURE. THE LATEST NORTH KOREAN MOVE FOLLOWED ON THURSDAY.//4

//PYONGYANG'S ULTIMATUM LAST WEEK WAS PROBABLY BASED ON A

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OUTGOING MESSAGE

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CALCULATION THAT AUSTRALIA'S VOTE WOULD INFLUENCE OTHER UN MEMBERS. AUSTRALIA'S UNEXPECTED ABSTENTION IN THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S POLITICAL COMMITTEE DID IN FACT FACILITATE ABSTENTIONS BY A NUMBER OF OTHER SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES, THUS INCREASING PYONGYANG'S MARGIN OF VICTORY.//Y

25X6

//PYONGYANG'S ROUGH TACTICS WILL DETRACT FROM THE REASONABLE
IMAGE IT HAS BEEN TRYING TO FOSTER, BUT THE AFFAIR SEEMS UNLIKELY
TO CUT INTO THE NORTH'S HARD CORE OF COMMUNIST AND MILITANT
NONALIGNED BACKERS. {CONFIDENTIAL}// E-2 IMPDET.H

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DATE: NOVEMBER 7, 1975

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